

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 SSM-03 /072 W  
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R 101420Z JUN 77  
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9074  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION SINAI

C O N F I D E N T I A L JERUSALEM 0856

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: XF, IS, US, PINT, PGOV, JO  
SUBJ: CURRENT SITUATION ON WEST BANK

1.. SUMMARY: IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE  
LIKUD ELECTION VICTORY, WEST BANK LEADERS TOOK  
THE VIEW THAT IT MADE NO GREAT DIFFERENCE SINCE  
BOTH ALIGNMENT AND LIKUD WISHED TO KEEP EAST  
JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK PERMANENTLY. COUPLED WITH THIS  
IS WIDESPREAD (ALMOST DESPERATE) HOPE THAT  
PRESIDENT CARTER WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE SETTLE-  
MENT. SOME WEST BANKERS PROFESS TO WELCOME A  
BEGIN GOVERNMENT SINCE THEY BELIEVE ISSUES ARE  
NOW SHARPER AND MUST BE FACED. THERE IS ALSO AN  
UNDERCURRENT FEAR THAT THE LIKUD MIGHT ANNEX THE  
TERRITORY OR FURTHER EXTEND ISRAELI LAW AND  
STEP UP THE RATE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS.  
FOR THE MOMENT, THE WEST BANK IS QUIET AND THE  
TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIX DAY WAR PASSED  
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ALMOST WITHOUT INCIDENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE LIKUD VICTORY (OR THE ALIGNMENT DEFEAT)  
TOOK THE WEST BANKERS BY SURPRISE. BEFORE  
MAY 17, WEST BANKERS WERE MOST ENCOURAGED BY  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENTS (FROM CLINTON ON)  
AND WERE ANTICIPATING AN EARLY POST-ELECTION

VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY PERES FOLLOWED BY A RETURN VISIT TO THE AREA BY THE SECRETARY AND A GENEVA CONFERENCE IN THE FALL. LIKE THE REST OF THE WORLD, THEY WERE SHOCKED AT BEGIN'S TRIUMPH. INITIALLY, WEST BANKERS TOOK THE LINE THAT NOTHING VERY SIGNIFICANT HAD HAPPENED SINCE RABIN, PERES, ALLON, DAYAN AND BEGIN WERE ALL "BIRDS OF A FEATHER."

3. PRIOR TO MAY 17, WE REPORTED THE UNACCUSTOMED SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICY (AND FOR THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY) ON THE WEST BANK. AFTER TEN YEARS OF MILITARY OCCUPATION MARKED BY FRUSTRATION AND PESSIMISM, WEST BANKERS BELIEVED THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. WAS SERIOUS, SINCERE AND KNEW WHAT COMPROMISES WOULD BE REQUIRED IF A SETTLEMENT WERE TO BE ACHIEVED. BEGIN'S VICTORY WAS AN UNANTICIPATED SHOCK WHICH WAS COMPOUNDED BY HIS INITIAL ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS (VISIT TO KADDUM, REFERENCE TO "LIBERATED TERRITORIES"). WEST BANKERS, AFTER INITIALLY REACTING BY DECLARING THAT THERE WAS NO BASIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD CONCERNING TERRITORIAL INTENTIONS, HAVE TENDED TO LOOK EVEN MORE BESEECHINGLY TO THE U.S. (SPECIFICALLY, TO THE PRESIDENT) TO PRODUCE FORWARD MOTION TOWARD GENEVA AND A SETTLEMENT. EVEN WEST BANK MAYORS TRADITIONALLY CLOSE TO THE PLO (E.G. KHALAF OF RAMALLAH AND HANNOUN OF TULKARM) ARE PINNING THEIR HOPES ON THE U.S. WHILE THE LEFTISTS, PRO-PLO ARABIC PRESS REMAINS SKEPTICAL, IN PRIVATE

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CONVERSATIONS GONE IS THE WIDESPREAD ANTI-AMERICAN RHETORIC AND IN ITS PLACE IS AN ALMOST DESPERATE DEPENDENCY ON THE U.S. (MORE SOPHISTICATED WEST BANKERS SUCH AS ANWAR NUSEIBEH, FORMER JORDANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER, REALIZE THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES NOT ONLY BETWEEN THE LIKUD AND THE ALIGNMENT BUT BETWEEN PERES AND RABIN, NOT TO MENTION BETWEEN THE LATTER AND BEGIN; NUSEIBEH BELIEVES THE U.S. EFFORT TO CONVENE GENEVA HAS SUFFERED A SERIOUS BLOW.)

4. SOME MAYORS (FREIJ OF BETHLEHEM) MAINTAIN THAT BEGIN'S TRIUMPH IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. NOW AT LONG LAST, THEY REASON, THE KEY ISSUES OF WITHDRAWAL AND PALESTINIAN RIGHTS ARE SHARPLY FOCUSED AND CAN NO LONGER BE IGNORED OR DEALT WITH BY SUCH AMBIGUOUS FORMULATIONS AS LABOR'S ELECTORAL PLATFORM. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THIS TRAIN OF THOUGHT IS BORN OF THE FRUSTRATIONS OF TEN YEARS OF MILITARY OCCUPATION.

5. UNDERNEATH THE ABOVE CURRENTS IS FEAR-FEAR THAT THE LIKUD MIGHT TAKE THE DRASTIC STEP OF ANNEXING THE WEST BANK THEREBY, IN EFFECT, CONVERTING WEST BANKERS FROM PALESTINIANS UNDER OCCUPATION TO ISRAELI ARABS OR SHORT OF FORMAL ANNEXATION, FURTHER EXTEND ISRAELI LAW ON WEST BANK. THEY ALSO FEAR THAT A LIKUD GOVERNMENT WILL ACTIVELY ENCOURAGE GREATLY INCREASED SETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK AND GAZA REGIONS AND, PERHAPS THE GOLAN AND SINAI AS WELL. ALTHOUGH NOT OVERT, THE NATIONALISTIC MAYORS ARE PROBABLY ALSO ANXIOUS OVER THE PROSPECT THAT A GOVERNMENT LED BY BEGIN, DAYAN, WEIZMAN, SHARON, ET AL, WILL BE LESS TOLERANT OVER VERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM.

6. ONE SENTIMENT IS NOTABLE FOR ITS ABSENCE-THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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NO RPT NO DISPOSITION TO ACCEPT INDEFINITELY ISRAELI OCCUPATION. ON THE CONTRARY, THERE IS A CERTAIN FATALISM THAT IS THE U.S. CAN NOT PRODUCE A SOLUTION THEN IT WILL EVENTUALLY BE THE ARABS TURN AGAIN. NEWLIN

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PINT, PGOV, XF, IS, US, JO  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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